2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

351 to each household by a raised doorstep of rough stones. In front of every gate is a stone bridge, or, simpler still, a section of coconut tree trunk to ford the deep irrigation ditch that runs invariably along both sides of the road.

361 A simple village consists of family compounds, each com-
[351] pletely surrounded by walls, lined on each side of a wide well-built avenue that runs in the direction of the cardinal points; from the mountain to the sea, the Balinese equivalent to our "north" and "south." The villages grew as they spread in these direc-
[491] tions, and the Dutch had only to pave the main streets and extend them through the ricefields to obtain the five-hundred-mile net of automobile roads that covers this small island.

363 The Balinese, being still essentially pedestrians, took good care to shade the roads with large trees, and every morning and every evening one sees the people in the streets, men going to work nonchalantly beating rhythms on their agricultural implements, or returning from the fields overloaded with sheaves of rice heavy with grain. Poised women come and go with great loads or shiny
[482] black clay pots on their heads. If it happens to be market day in the village, at dawn the roads are crowded with husky people from the near-by villages who come to sell their produce — piles of
[438] coconuts, bananas, or vegetables, pottery, mats, baskets, and so forth — carrying on their heads even the table that serves as a stand. If there is a feast in the village temple, the people parade
[292] in yellow, green, and magenta silks with fantastic pyramids of
[796] fruit and flowers, offerings to the gods, in a pageant that would have made Diaghilev turn green with envy.

291 Naked children play at the gates by the bell-shaped baskets
231 where the fighting cocks are kept. Each morning the baskets are
857 lined out on the street so that the roosters may enjoy the spectacle of people passing by. Small boys wearing only oversize sun-hats drive the enormous water-buffaloes, which in Bali appear in two colours, a dark muddy grey, and a pale, almost transparent pink,
231 an albino variety. A water-buffalo will not hesitate to attack a
857 tiger; their ponderous calm and their gigantic horns are awe-

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

CHAPTER VII

ART AND THE ARTIST

53 THE PLACE OF THE ARTIST IN BALINESE LIFE

Everybody in Bali seems to be an artist. Coolies and princes, priests and peasants, men and women alike, can dance, play musical instruments, paint, or carve in wood and stone. It was often surprising to discover that an otherwise poor and dilapitated village harboured an elaborate temple, a great orchestra, or a group of actors of repute.

53 438 One of the most famous orchestras in Bali is to be found in the remote mountain village of Selat, and the finest dancers of *legong* were in Saba, an unimportant little village hidden among the ricefields. Villages such as Mas, Batuan, Gelgel, are made up of families of painters, sculptors, and actors, and Sanur produces, besides priests and witch-doctors, fine story-tellers and dancers. In Sebatu, another isolated mountain village, even the children [322] [532] can carve little statues from odd bits of wood, some to be used as bottle-stoppers, perches for birds, handles, but most often simply absurd little human figures in comic attitudes, strange animals, birds of their own invention, frogs, snakes, larvæ of insects, figures without reason or purpose, simply as an outlet for their creative urge. In contrast to the devil-may-care primitive works of Sebatu are the super-refined, masterful carvings from Badung, Ubud, Pliatan, and especially those by the family of

2: Covarrubias R-5 (1930-1933) 1938
OF7 Bali OF7

young Brahmanas from Mas who turn out intricate statues of hard wood or with equal ability paint a picture, design a temple gate, or act and dance.

Painting, sculpture, and playing on musical instruments are arts by tradition reserved to the men, but almost any woman can weave beautiful stuffs and it is curious that the most intriguing textiles, those in which the dyeing and weaving process is so complicated that years of labour are required to complete a scarf, are made by the women of Tenganan, an ancient village of six hundred souls who are so conservative that they will not maintain connections with the rest of Bali and who punish with exile whoever dares to marry outside the village.

The main artistic activity of the women goes into the making of beautiful offerings for the gods. These are intricate structures of cut-out palm-leaf, or great pyramids of fruit, flowers, cakes, and even roast chickens, arranged with splendid taste, masterpieces of composition in which the relative form of the elements employed, their texture and colour are taken into consideration. I have seen monuments, seven feet in height, made entirely of roasted pig's meat on skewers, decorated into shapes cut out of the waxy fat of the pig and surmounted with banners and little umbrellas of the lacy stomach tissues, the whole relieved by the vivid vermilion of chili-peppers. Although women of all ages have always taken part in the ritual offering dances, in olden times only little girls became dancers and actresses; but today beautiful girls take part in theatrical performances, playing the parts of princesses formerly performed exclusively by female impersonators.

The effervescence of artistic activity and the highly developed æsthetic sense of the population can perhaps be explained by a natural urge to express themselves, combined with the important factor of leisure resulting from well-organized agricultural cooperatism. However, the most important element for the development of a popular culture, with primitive as well as refined characteristics, was perhaps the fact that the Balinese did not

Toradja OG11
New Guinea OJ1

Aru OH5
Java OE1
Bali OF7
Minangkabau OD10
Borneo OC1

A [388 cont.]
228 but the inhabitants have the right to fish for pearls in all places
[636] that do not lie more than nine meters deep at low water. This right is a consequence of the right of disposal, which can extend even beyond the land boundaries.

I
J
228 With the exception of some dèsa on the Segara Anakan (Banjoemas Residency), on Pampang Bay (Besoeki Residency), and a single dèsa on the southern coast of Java, pearl fishing is of little or no significance any longer in the archipelago. Pearl fishing in the dèsa of the Segara Anakan dates from the beginning of the eighteenth century, but by the end of that century it was far outstripped in importance by the fishing in the immediate
M neighborhood of Batavia, where the pearl divers formed a special
Ba guild.

U
I [389] Trade. Trade plays only a very minor role as a means of livelihood among the native population if we consider only
438 those who engage in it as their sole or chief means of support.
443 In general, the situation is the same among the more highly developed peoples, such as the Javanese, the Balinese, and the Minangkabau. Retail trade, however, which is chiefly conducted by women, is important among these peoples and is always and everywhere connected with agriculture. Such trade can be of great volume only where the society is sufficiently differentiated to
Bo give rise to a variety of needs and a division of labor to satisfy
T them. Among peoples such as the Toradja and Dajak [Dyak],
438 especially the former, where a kind of communism exists within the tribe [stam, "tribe" or "clan"] or the tribal members' village, the needs of the tribal members are so alike and generally anyone can so adequately satisfy his own needs that there is scarcely any trade within the tribe. There is, however, a cer-
Bo tain amount of trade between the various tribes. The Dajak fre-
439 quently undertake long trading expeditions to buy old beads from other tribes who value them less than they do. Even so, there is no particular class of traders. Such trade relations exist also among
N more primitive tribes than those just mentioned. For instance,
439 the dwarf tribes of central New Guinea trade with the inhabitants